1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

It is hardly necessary to say that the species of fish caught by the Koryak are the same as those on the American side of Bering Sea, but they differ from those of the arctic rivers west of the Stanovoi Ridge. There we find mainly the *Coregonidæ*, which ascend the rivers from the polar sea, while in the Koryak waters the *Salmonidæ* (especially of the genus *Oncorhynchus*) are of greatest importance.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATIC CONDITIONS UPON PROGRESS. — From this brief description of the nature of the region, it may be seen to what extent its form of culture depends upon surrounding conditions. It can hardly be expected that under such a climate the manner of existence can be materially changed. In the far north, material culture depends more upon the degree of latitude than upon human efforts. Agriculture is impossible, because the earth does not thaw out to a sufficient depth; the soil is mostly marshy; and the temperature is too low for the growth of cereals.

In 1901 there were in Gishiginsk only seventy-eight days without frosts, which is not a sufficiently long period for the growth of cereals. This time is in reality still more curtailed, since the growth of cereals does not begin, or stops if already begun, till the temperature is somewhat above the freezing-point. Botanists regard the temperature above 6° C. as a necessary one for the growth of cereals.

Taking into consideration the poor quality of the grasses, and the enormous expanses covered with moss, lichen, and marshes, cattle-breeding as an industry is also impossible. As we shall see below, the efforts of the Russian Administration to develop cattle-breeding among the Russianized Maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the Okhotsk district — that is, in the more southern parts of the territory — has met with very little success.

The fur-trade cannot be regarded as a means of improving the general welfare of the natives, since, aside from the fact that the profits derived from it remain in the hands of unscrupulous traders, the number of fur-bearing animals is rapidly decreasing, owing to their ruthless destruction.

Fishing and the hunting of sea-mammals, as indicated above, can be carried on in the summer only; so that during the long winter the Maritime population have to depend exclusively upon their summer supplies.

Reindeer-breeding, though affording a more reliable source of sustenance to the wandering Reindeer people than that offered by hunting and fishing to the Maritime people, is still in a most primitive state. The type of a Reindeer household has so far remained unchanged, contact with Russian civilization for a century and a half not having exercised any influence upon it. This primitive state of the material life of the Koryak, left almost intact by outside influence, determines the primitive state of their mental culture.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

time when, in wandering from one place to another, they had to carry their possessions, like the American Indians, on their own persons.

The fact that, of the three related tribes, — the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal, — the last-mentioned has not developed reindeer-breeding, shows to what extent expeditions into the interior were responsible for the domestication of the reindeer. The land of the Kamchadal consists of a rather narrow peninsula with a long stretch of coast-line, adapted for maritime and river settlements. Hunting-expeditions in search of wild reindeer and mountain-sheep in the mountains of the central Kamchatka range did not take the hunters far away from their settlements. Besides, fish are more abundant in the Kamchatka rivers than in those of the Koryak country, and the food-supply obtained from the sea by the Kamchadal was more regular than that of their northern neighbors. In my opinion, this accounts for the fact that we find no domesticated reindeer among the Kamchadal.

In the Koryak territory the extent of coast-line, in comparison with that of the interior country, is still considerable; but among the Chukchee the interior is extensive as compared to the length of coast-line. Hence I believe the relative as well as the absolute number of Reindeer people is greater among the Chukchee than among the Koryak. According to the census of 1897,[1] 75.6 per cent (9,208 persons) of the total number of Chukchee are reindeer-breeders; while the reindeer-breeders constitute only about 50 per cent of the Koryak (3,748 persons). Bogoras received the impression that in the last few decades reindeer-breeding among the Chukchee has been on the increase.[2] This opinion is supported, among others, by the fact that, during the sixties of the last century, part of the Chukchee reindeer-breeders who before had been wandering in the territory east of the Kolyma River asked permission of the Russian Government to pass over to the western side. They felt crowded in the east. In a few years they spread in the west from the Kolyma to the Indighirka River.

The same cannot be said of the Koryak. Their reindeer-breeding industry, we have reason to suppose, has increased in the north of the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Parapol Dol. Some groups of the Reindeer Koryak, such as the Koryak wandering along the rivers Oklan and Tılqai, who were formerly wealthy reindeer-breeders, have now become impoverished; while part of the Koryak on the rivers Opuka and Khatırka, who were formerly reindeer-breeders, are now settled. It is true that we also see the reverse process. Some groups of sedentary Koryak have taken to wandering with their reindeer; but that is true only of those Koryak groups[3] which consist of mixed families, nomads and settlers, and which do not possess large herds. The owners of large herds, numbering, perhaps, thousands of heads,

[1] See Patkanov, pp. 19, 27.
[2] See p. 434.
[3] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 72.

J. Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

178 233 are found only among the genuine Reindeer nomads of the Taigonos Peninsula, the Palpal Ridge, and in the Parapol Dol. It is quite possible, as I said before, that the proportion of Reindeer Koryak has now increased, but that is because a considerable part of the settlements has disappeared as a result of wars and of a high rate of mortality.

114 233 174 To answer the question which of the two tribes, the Chukchee or the Koryak, engaged in reindeer-breeding first, is no less difficult to answer. If Schrenck's hypothesis, that these two tribes had obtained the domesticated reindeer from the Tungus, is correct, it would necessarily follow that the nearest neighbors of the Tungus, the Koryak, would be the first to acquire them. But that is just what cannot be maintained.

233 174 If we turn to the myths, we shall see that they throw little light on this question. The Chukchee myths represent the Koryak as a people engaged exclusively in reindeer-breeding, and the Koryak myths maintain the same thing of the Chukchee. This mutual characterization of the two peoples by their myths reflects the surroundings amidst which they came in conflict at a period when reindeer-breeding had already begun. During that period, wars were waged, principally between the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak. If, according to Russian annals, the Reindeer Chukchee not only waged war on the Maritime Koryak of Bering Sea, but also penetrated to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, there is no indication, on the other hand, that the Reindeer Koryak ever attacked the Maritime Chukchee. The northeastern branch of the Maritime Koryak, the Kerek, may, of course, in times past, have had intercourse with the Maritime Chukchee near the mouth of the Anadyr River; but the Maritime Chukchee on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk, not only could not have met, but they had as vague an idea of each other as they have to day. The remote maritime people of the north are known among the Maritime Koryak under the name of "Aiwan;" but that is the name under which the Asiatic Eskimo are known on the Chukchee Peninsula.

The myths give no tangible data as to the origin of reindeer-breeding. The appearance of domesticated reindeer is represented in legends rather as an act of special creation. Sometimes they are lowered down from heaven by the Supreme Deity, and sometimes the heroes put life into the wooden figures of reindeer. Most frequently we find, in the myths, tales relating how Big-Raven, or his son Eme'mqut, would pull poles out from the ground, and how reindeer would come out of the holes. According to this account, domesticated reindeer, previous to their appearance on earth, had lived, by the will of the culture-heroes, in the underground world. On the whole, Koryak myths give no hint regarding the process of domestication of the wild reindeer.

The Koryak, like other reindeer-breeders of northern Siberia, have special

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

ANCIENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — Social units, in the sense of organized tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations.

In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two antithetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected.

I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise.

The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expression not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herdsmen would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consolidated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed rich herdsmen into beggars.

The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

Present Forms of Social Life. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses and back again at any season.

[1] See Part I, p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 268. [3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

tory. Being hunters, they occupy the wooded valleys of rivers which abound in game, and where the Koryak with their herds are seldom met with. Friction is thus avoided. It even happens that the Koryak and the Tungus peacefully camp not far from each other or side by side. Thus the Tungus gradually advanced to several tributaries of the Penshina River, on which the squirrel occurs; and along the shores of the Okhotsk Sea they quite recently penetrated, even to Kamchatka, where, besides finding plenty of food for their reindeer, and mountain-sheep for hunting, they ran across a valuable fur-animal, — the sable.

Thus the original warlike relations of the Koryak with the neighboring natives were in the course of time superseded by entirely peaceful relations, based chiefly on barter. It is true that the Koryak still have contemptuous nicknames for each of the peoples; but, wherever they come into contact with these peoples, they form friendships and favor intermarriages.

An interesting trait in the lives of these primitive peoples is the remarkable tolerance with which they treat each other's customs and beliefs, and their willingness, in case of need, to recognize each other's strength or superiority. Thus the Koryak do not hesitate to appeal for assistance to the shamans of the Chukchee or Tungus. A foreign shaman is even treated with more than the ordinary respect accorded to his class, for he is the master of spirits who are beyond the control of local shamans. When a Koryak enters into the relation of marriage or of friendship with a person belonging to another people, the accompanying ceremonies follow the custom of either of the two peoples, according to agreement. If a Koryak, for example, marries a Tungus girl, the marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with Tungus customs, and he pays a ransom for the bride. A Tungus girl, on the other hand, on entering a Koryak household, puts on Koryak garments and submits to the customs which regulate the home life of the Koryak. A Tungus has to serve for his Koryak bride. Tungus-Koryak marriages are, however, very rare in the interior of the country. As indicated above, intermarriages of the Koryak with the Tungus are of most frequent occurrence in the territory of the Reindeer Koryak on the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers. Although the Tungus are all Christians, they do not invite the Russian priests to perform their marriage ceremonies whenever one of the parties belongs to the heathen Koryak, but wed according to Koryak or ancient Tungus customs. Marriages between the Koryak and the Chukchee are more frequent than those between the former and the Tungus. In the case of these intermarriages, the Chukchee camps within the Koryak territory, like those in the north of Kamchatka or on the Parapol Dol, adopt Koryak customs; on the Chukchee frontier, on the other hand, in the northern part of the Palpal, the Koryak submit to Chukchee customs, including that of exchanging wives.

11: Kennan--232-233 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 181, 157, 178, 621 Maritime

"The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all Northeastern Siberia. They do not number more than three or four hundred, and live in five different settlements along the sea-coast; but they made us more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamtchatka together. They led, originally, a wandering life like the other Koraks; but, losing their deer by some misfortune or disease, they built them-[233]selves houses of drift-wood on the sea-coast, settled down, and now gain a scanty subsistence by fishing, catching seals, and hunting for carcasses of whales which have been killed by American whaling vessels, stripped of blubber, and then cast ashore by the sea. They are cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. Everything which the Wandering Koraks are, they are not."

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relatives present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--287-288 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak -1-2
116, 171, 178, 342

"On the whole the balagans seemed to agree very closely with those described and figured by King and other earlier travellers. In the pictures given by Steller, however, the balagans have a rounded, not angular, exterior, and the ladders are not of the primitive type, but quite modern in appearance. The balagans also as seen by us differed from those described by King, in being provided with only one and not with two entrances. The shape of the balagans at Karaga is also worth noting, they being pyramidal, whereas those of Petropavlowsk as well [288] as the raised storehouses of the Ainus of Yezo, (1) are

1. See the Rev. John Batchelor's 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. iv.

gabled like an ordinary hut raised on poles. But in the latter case the influx of Russian civilization would seem to have degraded the balagan from summer dwelling to winter storehouse.

The Karaga yurts differed from those described in the old voyages in being entered from the side only by means of an ordinary doorway, and not from the top by means of a ladder (2). In this respect they bear a very great resemblance to photographs which we

2. See description of yurt, as seen on Karaginski island (p. 296).

possess of the yurts at present in use among the inhabitants of Unalashka, the Commander, and the Kuril islands. The latter seem to have replaced, and to be a modern improvement of the yurt with the entrance in the roof, as in Cook's Voyage there is an excellent figure of one of the latter kind at Unalashka."

K 114 101

/334 cont./

4. (cont.)
knew nothing of the Kamchadal. One can explain such a misunderstanding of Steller's remarks as happened to Gerland in part by Steller's antiquated style and in part by the frequently (and even at the place concerned, p. 8) exceeding faulty and incorrect punctuation in this publication of his work. As I have already pointed out at another place (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. II, p. 762, note 3), Pallas said of it that it "was printed from a rough draft and in the hands of the publisher (J.B.S.) became loaded with the most inexcusable copying and printing errors revealing a great ignorance (Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 255). One will be convinced of the accuracy of this opinion by Pallas on every page while reading Steller's work. For this reason I believe that the apparent difference in these two Koryak terms for the Kamchadal can be traced to merely a printing error. Steller also says that the sedentary Koryak along the Sea of Okhotsk are called "Nūmala akalila," i.e., sitting, resting, by their countrymen who roam with reindeer. Could it be, however, that this "Nūmala," like "Namalau," is also a reference to their subterranean dwellings?

KK [101]

KK [101] [174] [342]

KK 342 198 179

Some, the sedentary ones, of the Koryak, also a Paleo-Asiatic people, retained the earth yurt to this day, insofar as they have not already adopted Russian customs and hence also Russian dwellings, for example, according to Ditmar (5), /335/in particular

KK [113]

5. "Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Chukchee Very Closely Related to Them/" (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. XIII, pp. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 8, 12, 16).

/335 cont./

342 [178] [177] the Kamenzen and Parenzen settled around Penshin Bay, as well as the northernmost Pallanzen (in Pusstorezk and Podkagernaja), and the majority of the Olutorzen on the northeast coast of Kamchatka. According to Ditmar, the Koryak earth-yurt is very simple in nature: a pit approximately 2-3 fathoms square, lined and roofed over with wooden logs, and, like the Kamchadal yurt of old, it is entered through the smoke hole (1). According to

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1. Krascheninnikof ("Opis. zemli Kamchatki." -- Poln. sobr. putesh. i pr., Vol. II, p. 195), Müller ("Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Condition of Kamchatka/," in the appendix to Steller's Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtsch., p. 24), Ditmar (op. cit.), Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes; a journ. of Siber. travels and explor. made in the years 1865-1867, London, 1871, p. 352), Kennan (Tent life in Siberia and Adventures among the Koraks and oth. tribes in Kamtschatka and North Asia, London, 1871, pp. 153, 178), and others. The latter in particular describes entering or leaving through the smoke hole in the Koryak yurt and all the inconveniences connected with it in a most drastic way.

Maydell, the Koryak earth-yurt also has a side entrance, which leads down into the interior through a narrow, slightly sloping channel, but this is used only once a year, namely, when the owner moves into his yurt in the fall, he first crawls in through this passageway, but then closes it immediately with sealskin stretched over a frame, and the rest of the time only the smoke hole may be used for entering or leaving (2). The nomadic

2. According to an oral communication from G. v. Maydell.

[174] Koryak, of course, have no earth yurts. Could it be, however, that their ancestors did have such earth yurts? It is generally